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**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE NATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA**
(Received in March 1984)

May 1984

Author: Elizabeth R. Curtiss

PREFACE

This bibliography continues the monthly series compiling analytic material on the nations of South Asia. The countries included are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is a general South Asia section for works having multilateral implications. This selective reference work is intended to support research on the foreign relations, governments, politics, and economies of the nations of South Asia. Material included is both retrospective and current, and represents works received, cataloged, or indexed, in March 1984.

Citations are arranged geographically and listed alphabetically by author within each country section. Works bearing on or analyzing more than one nation are entered under each country concerned. Where citations lack an accompanying abstract, the work was not on hand at the time of this issue; an abstract will be included when the work is received.

Word processing was accomplished by Angela M. Bloom.

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AFGHANISTAN

Kapur, K. D. Soviet Strategy in South Asia: Perspectives on Soviet Policies Toward the Indian Sub Continent and Afghanistan. New Delhi: Young Asia, 1983. 545 pp.

The author applies exhaustive research to the hypothesis that the USSR has pursued an equidistant course between India and Pakistan. This policy began in the late 1950s in response to political uncertainty inside India and, later, Pakistan's growing association with China. Kapur's main evidence is Soviet promotion of peace treaties between the two nations following their various armed conflicts. Much of the book is historical, with special attention to Soviet reluctance to sanction India's obvious desires, throughout 1971, to intervene in East Pakistan. Regarding Afghanistan, Kapur says that although Soviet motivations cannot be fully interpreted, "the many CIA camps" on the Pakistani border provide a security threat to "the superpower's local ally". Despite its bias, the scholarship gives merit to the book. (bibliography, index, notes)

"Long-Range War on the Education Front." Arabia, the Islamic World Review, March 1984, p. 27.

Since 1979, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) has made major changes in its education system. The war between the government and the mujahiddin has caused demographic shifts, sending 3 million Afghans into refugee camps outside the country, and driving another 10 percent of the population into the cities. Kabul has gone from a population of 700,000 in 1978 to 1.4 million in 1984. In the towns under its control, the DRA has set about creating a Soviet-style education system, using women teachers to replace men in uniform. Many Afghans now associate any western-style education with the hated regime, a prejudice which hampers mujahiddin efforts to address the nation's overwhelming illiteracy. The article, noting that many conservative professionals and intellectuals are unemployed in Pakistan or moving to western cities, suggests that an Afghan university-in-exile be formed to help preserve the Islamic culture for which the mujahiddin are laying down their lives.

BANGLADESH

Agwani, M. S., ed. South Asia: Stability and Regional Cooperation. Chandigarh: Center for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1983. 150 pp.

Despite its Indo-centric perspective, this book takes a thorough look into a multilateral collaborative process which has already yielded some benefits

to the region. When Bangladeshi President Ziaur Rahman proposed the idea 7 years ago, India feared that the South Asia Regional Council (SARC) would allow the smaller nations to unite against the current imbalance of power. Conversely, the other nations feared that Bangladesh (which was born through New Delhi's active military assistance) was simply creating another forum for India to dominate. The authors discuss various agencies set up under SARC auspices, as all parties have come to recognize the value of multilateral institutions in preserving harmonious relations. (index, notes)

Ali, Syed M. "Political Parties Unlimited." Bangladesh Today, 1 July 1983, p. 8.

This catalogue of 65 of the mainline Bangladeshi political parties includes names of major supporters and the activities which each group has carried out. Many are more properly considered factions, but through patronage and financial wizardry have acquired power beyond their promise. Several underground radical groups with no hope of sharing power in a constitutional system have been left out, but the article forms a handy scorecard for anyone trying to follow the elections agitation now underway.

Azam, Shafiul. "The Bangla-Burmese Bridge." Bangladesh Today, 1 June 1983, p. 20.

In 1978, 200,000 Rohingyas, a Muslim minority from the Burmese state of Arakan, entered Bangladesh as refugees, thereby creating tension between the two nations for the first time. The exodus was prompted by a nationality-based census, ordered by the Rangoon government. This mandated action added to Rohingya fears that they would be further discriminated against by the Burmese Government which already had imposed earlier restrictions on their assimilation and citizenship. In the face of this population displacement, Bangladesh and Burma, assisted by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, negotiated a successful repatriation agreement. Since then, the two states have established amicable bilateral channels for trade and cultural exchanges, with Bangladesh importing buffalo and rice from Burma. Officially, Burma imports almost nothing from Bangladesh, but pharmaceuticals and personal items covertly cross the 275 kilometer border into Burma's closed economy.

Kamaluddin, S. "Opposition Roadblock." Far Eastern Economic Review, 15 March 1984, p. 15.

President H. M. Ershad has lost control, at least temporarily, of the "march toward democracy." Although the opposition parties still have weaknesses, limited violence in February produced massive mourning processions for the state's victims. A strike called for 1 March attracted widespread support, and by 5 March, 499 candidates in the next elections had joined the electoral boycott by withdrawing their names. The opposition parties reject President Ershad's offer of simultaneous parliamentary and presidential elections. Instead, they want the president to be selected after the legislature is in place.

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Khan, A. R. "Real Wages of Agricultural Workers in Bangladesh." Economic and Political Weekly. January 1984, p. PE-40.

The author illustrates the century-long decline in real wages as measured in money and in rice equivalence. The slide was especially precipitous during the last decade. Today only one-third of the population is engaged in nonsubsistence economic activity, and pressures on land are increasing. While these ideas are generally known, the article is unusually thorough in its treatment of details within the parameters of Bangladesh's economic devolution. Long-term planners will find it especially useful. (notes, tables)

Murty, T. S. Assam: The Difficult Years. New Delhi: Himalayan Books, 1983. 293 pp.

The author, who spent his Indian Administrative Services career in the north-eastern states and border kingdoms, begins his account with the state and national victories of the Janata Party in 1978. By tying Assam's state government to a noncohesive center party, the election results allowed fragmentation of state politics along ethnic lines. The Assamese denounced the tribals and the Bangladeshis; the tribals denounced the Assamese and the Bangladeshis, while the politicians with Bangladeshi support denounced everyone else. Murty devotes the bulk of this thoroughly-researched work to a week-by-week account of events since Gandhi's return to power in 1980. In its depth and objectivity, the book is a uniquely valuable resource on one of the most acute problems in India today. (appendices, bibliography, index, notes)

Parasher, S. C., ed. Commonwealth Today. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1983. 233 pp.

Three chapters of this otherwise historical work merit attention for their treatment of a foreign policy mechanism unknown to most Americans.

"Commonwealth in a Changing World," by K. P. Karunkaran, despite its pro-Soviet rhetoric, gives an up-to-date portrait of the members and their international importance. Rasheeduddin Khan's "Commonwealth and the Third World" describes mutual interests among the states which have resulted from the break-up of the British Empire. K. P. Misra's "Commonwealth and Regional Cooperation" traces attempts by Asia/Pacific members to fashion elements of the worldwide framework into a regional structure. The book demonstrates that the Commonwealth is a unique opportunity for most English-speaking states to discuss multilateral matters on an equal and confidential basis. Bad relations between India and Pakistan have impaired the workings of the Commonwealth (of which Pakistan is no longer a member), and both New Delhi and Islamabad have been the losers by their failure to more fully exploit this forum for communication.

Samad, Saleem. "Chittagong Port: Albatross Around the Maritime Neck." Bangladesh Today, 1 July 1983, p. 20.

Eighty percent of all trade in and out of Bangladesh uses Chittagong Port, yet siltation is rapidly limiting the draught of ships which can reach its berths. The author examines alternative sites which have been proposed as successors. Although most lie immediately south of Chittagong on the same river delta, Samad prefers an upgrading of the nation's second-busiest port, Khulna, which lies on a separate, more stable delta. The article itemizes Chittagong's current growing problems, and specifies major requirements which the next port will have to meet.

Syed, A. M., and Khasru, Amir. "Population: The Time Bomb Ticks Away." Bangladesh Today, 16 June 1983, p. 8.

This overview of Bangladesh's pressing population problem finds causes in individuals and in socioeconomic conditions. Men have children by several wives but take little responsibility for them. Women are too illiterate to follow family planning advice and too subjugated to risk limiting the number of children they have. Health care professionals prefer to work in the cities; they avoid rural areas where the people have nothing to do but work and procreate. USAID funding for family planning programs has been the major motivator for what little has been undertaken against this challenge. The authors hypothesize methods for adapting China's successful birth control program to Bangladesh. To start with, they would install television sets to provide inexpensive and harmless diversion for every village.

BHUTAN

Agwani, M. S., ed. South Asia: Stability and Regional Cooperation. Chandigarh: Center for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 1983. 150 pp.

Despite its Indo-centric perspective, this book takes a thorough look into a multilateral collaborative process which has already yielded some benefits to the region. When Bangladeshi President Ziaur Rahman proposed the idea 7 years ago, India feared that the South Asia Regional Council (SARC) would

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Dastgir, F. H. "Bhutan: Big Brotherly Botherations?" Bangladesh Today, 1 June 1983, p. 22.

Although Bhutan is an independent kingdom, India insists that all development aid and visa requests must be approved by New Delhi. Since Bhutan is the poorest nation in the world, this could be considered friendly assistance, except that India has shown singular reluctance to join in multinational arenas set up to aid the Least Developed Nations. When finally India was prodded to attend one such forum in 1983, the representatives were of extremely low rank and expertise.

INDIA

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Bhatia, Vinod, ed. Indo-Soviet Relations: Problems and Prospects. New Delhi: Panscheel, 1984. 193 pp.

The book presents an opportunity to observe the pro-Soviet prejudice common in India's foreign policy establishment. The authors are associated with Jawaharlal Nehru University, the press, and government. The book tends heavily toward historical material, but the chapters dealing with bilateral trade and treaties illustrate the very real assets India has reaped from her strongest relationship. Criticism of Pakistan and the western nations bodes ill for any gestures toward peaceful relations.

Bobb, Dilip. "A Raw Repast." India Today, 15 March 1984, p. 63.

The Nair commission on intelligence reports that even the favored Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) is burdened with political appointees, intellectual

lightweights, and sybarites in search of comfortable overseas postings. In-country assignment are similarly ill-conceived, with personnel often unable to speak the languages of the regions they are sent to report on. The current head of RAW, Gary Saxena, has surrounded himself with sycophants in lieu of competent investigative staff members. Moreover, despite Gandhi's personal order against it, many police officers have remained on deputized duty beyond 4 years and 5 months. Nair's report calls for an oversight bureau. Until now there has been no official response.

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Fadia, Babulal. State Politics in India, Volume 1. New Delhi: Radiant, 1984. 500 pp.

The author, who teaches political science in Rajasthan, has produced an extensive work on relations between the state and center governments. Using Myron Weiner's analytic guidelines, he examines the following determinants of a state's make-up: constitutional framework, economic development process (particularly the power tension between the states and the Planning Commission), the sociocultural environment, bureaucracy, the state's importance in the company of other states, geography, and finally, its unique political actors. President's rule and the assignment of governors and chief ministers takes up a large share in the discussion of abuse of powers by the center. (bibliography, index, notes, tables)

Fadia, Babulal. State Politics in India, Volume 2. New Delhi: Radiant, 1984. 318 pp.

"Each study in this volume treats the state as a political subsystem within a larger system, but nonetheless also as a separate political system." Fadia finds a unique political profile in each state. Haryana's politicians switch parties before, during and after elections. Punjab's well-known Sikh politics have been a factor for years. Uttar Pradesh is a sprawling, diverse state united primarily by Hindi language and cultural linkages. West Bengal, one of the most urbanized and politicized states, takes a confrontational attitude toward the federal government. The author fails to turn his incisive gaze on Assam: the other states covered are Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Kerala, Orissa, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu. (appendices, bibliography, index, maps, notes, tables)

India, Government of. Indian Railways Year Book 1981-82. New Delhi: Ministry of Railways, c.1983. 179 pp.

This volume discusses the purposes of India's railways, electrification, signalling and telecommunication, rolling stock, passenger traffic, freight traffic, utilization of assets, and employee relations. There is information about the various gauges used, and the proportion of each one in miles traveled. Additionally, there are clues to numerous other factors which would have to be considered in any rapid mobilization. Some lines are overly-used; some are only now being supplied with latrines and fresh water; and food catering on most trains is still in the developmental stages. However, the steady indigenization of production, maintenance and resupply of this massive infrastructure is a credit to India's development. (annexes, charts, graphs, tables)

Jones, Rodney W., ed. Small Nuclear Forces and U.S. Security Policy: Threats and Potential Conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1984. 278 pp.

The authors in this excellent collection have been asked to assume a world in which horizontal nuclear proliferation has become a reality, and to calculate US security options under the resulting constraints. Separate chapters discuss: "Small Nuclear Forces in South Asia," "Small Nuclear Forces: Soviet Political and Military Responses," and "NATO and SNF Proliferation: A Speculative Inquiry." Written by noted authors, the essays provide specific planning scenarios which would have to be considered in a world of nuclear proliferation. Anyone interested in theater-planning in the next century will find this book valuable. (appendix, bibliography, glossary, maps, tables)

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Majeed, Akhtar, ed. Regionalism: Development Tensions in India. New Delhi: Cosmo, 1984. 227 pp.

A collection of essays by prominent Indian political and social scientists describes the conflict between regional and national power groups in the formation of modern India. The authors bring historical background and political analysis to their descriptions of events in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, the northeast, Punjab, and Tamil Nadu. The first three chapters provide analytic frameworks encompassing all the political vicissitudes (including redrawing of state lines) to which these states have been subject since Independence. (appendices, bibliography, notes)

Murty, T. S. Assam: The Difficult Years. New Delhi: Himalayan Books, 1983. 293 pp.

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Singh, Jaswant, ed. Indian Armed Forces Year Book 1981-82. Bombay: Government of India, 1983. 640 pp.

Sections of this book explain the organization of the Department of Defense, each branch of service, facilities for servicemen and their families, and major armies around the world. Implicit deference toward the Soviet Union shapes the explanations of various treaties and the concept of "just war," while discussion of the United States is more detached. Because the book was prepared during the turbulent decline of the Janata government, political ambiguity weakens such important discussions as threat scenarios, strategy and terrain. There are biographies of top military figures. (photographs)

Subramaniam, K., ed. The Second Cold War. New Delhi: ABC, 1983. 215 pp.

These essays, by an assortment of Indian authors, selectively quote from American memoirs and reports to prove that the 1970s were a decade of escalating Central Intelligence Agency "aggression" around the world. Seymour Hersh, the Congressional Research Service, the CIA itself, Cyrus Vance, and Zbigniew Brzezinski are the main sources. The biased analyses of CIA modus operandi and strategic planning provide an occasionally thought-provoking glimpse into the minds of Indian Sovietphiles. (index, tables)

Thapar, Karan. "Threatening Revenge." India Today, 15 March 1984, p. 82.

The overseas Kashmiri squad which recently murdered Indian diplomat Ravendra Mhatre is a neophyte offspring of an established group. Both organizations have experienced mushroom growth since India hanged terrorist Maqbul Butt in retaliation for Mhatre's death. The article explains that almost all Kashmiris in Britain are from a single district which was flooded to build a dam several years ago. Traditional kinship and village networks thus facilitate organizational structures of opposition. An accompanying article dismisses the probability of official Pakistani connivance in Mhatre's death, although it makes clear that Kashmiris from the Pakistani side are seeking new forms of terrorism out of frustration with the cease-fire line as a de facto international border.

PAKISTAN

Adams, John, and Iqbal, Sabiha. Exports, Politics and Economic Development: Pakistan 1970-82. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1983. 246 pp.

"Who benefits?" is the question which brings together economics and politics. In this book, which is primarily economic, the players and their machinations are so clearly described that political readers will gain increased understanding of the 12 years of Pakistani development under review. The authors explain how Prime Minister Zulfigar Ali Bhutto (1971-77) designed economic policies to reward political supporters in labor unions and small industry. Many of President Ziaul Haq's measures are consequently designed to rebuff these groups and create the overall growth which favors

large industrialists and traditional capital, including large landowners. Anyone trying to make sense of the current election year will find this book indispensable.

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Jain, Rashmi. U.S.-Pak Relations 1947-1983. New Delhi: Radiant, 1983, 182 pp.

Since the birth of Pakistan, the United States has sought a bilateral policy with Islamabad that would balance regional and global interests. Unfortunately, America's perceived need for allies who can help with protecting the Persian Gulf and containing the Soviet Union has flown in the face of long-term desires to limit the regional arms buildup and Third World nuclear proliferation. Jain follows the zigzag course of events, drawing on the public record to chart the various motives and methods which have made up US policy toward Pakistan. (appendices, bibliography, notes)

Jones, Rodney W., ed. Small Nuclear Forces and U.S. Security Policy: Threats and Potential Conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1984. 278 pp.

The authors in this excellent collection have been asked to assume a world in which horizontal nuclear proliferation has become a reality, and to calculate US security options under the resulting constraints. Separate chapters discuss: "Small Nuclear Forces in South Asia," "Small Nuclear Forces: Soviet Political and Military Responses," and "NATO and SNF Proliferation: A Speculative Inquiry." Written by noted authors, the essays provide specific planning scenarios which would have to be considered in a world of nuclear proliferation. Anyone interested in theater-planning in the next century will find this book valuable. (appendix, bibliography, glossary, maps, tables)

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Hahn, Bradley. "The Soviet Union's Rapid Deployment Force." Pacific Defense Reporter, April 1984, p. 16.

Hahn, a military affairs consultant, links the USSR's growing amphibious capability with its growing sealift capacity, and suggests the Communist superpower will form a rapid deployment force within the decade. Because the

force would be kept aboard vessels, it would not depend on adjacent land bases. Hahn says the new capability will be designed to enable the Soviet Union to fight a war against the United States. Indian Ocean strategists will be interested to note various vessels passing through the littoral states of South Asia in this article, ostensibly en route from the western to the eastern shores of the USSR. Anyone who follows Soviet naval power will appreciate the clear descriptions of Moscow's current and projected surface combatants and submarines. (tables)

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Despite its Indo-centric perspective, this book takes a thorough look into a multilateral collaborative process which has already yielded some benefits

to the region. When Bangladeshi President Ziaur Rahman proposed the idea 7 years ago, India feared that the South Asia Regional Council (SARC) would allow the smaller nations to unite against the current imbalance of power. Conversely, the other nations feared that Bangladesh (which was born through New Delhi's active military assistance) was simply creating another forum for India to dominate. The authors discuss various agencies set up under SARC auspices, as all parties have come to recognize the value of multi-lateral institutions in preserving harmonious relations. (index, notes)

Sri Lanka. Statistical Pocket Book of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka 1981. Colombo: Department of Census and Statistics, Ministry of Plan Implementation, c. 1982. 179 pp.

This reference volume contains demographic data on Sri Lanka. Included are employment, labor, educational and family statistics to name but a few examples. The book also looks at the nation from an aggregate point of view, examining expenditures in various sectors of the economy and land distribution. Some of the statistics are as current as 1978, while others look back retrospectively for 10 years. There are geographical descriptions of areas of special interest, and equivalence charts for weights, measures and time zones. (tables)